

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FOURPENCE

Atomic warfare and the Labour Party

P.N. REPORTER

THE Labour Pacifist Fellowship has issued a statement declaring its belief that the decision to manufacture and explode a British atomic bomb was a mistaken one, and that many people, apart from pacifists, would prefer Britain to renounce the use of atomic weapons and to cease manufacturing them, irrespective of what other nations do.

The statement goes on to plead that the Labour Party will include in its new programme a declaration that the next Labour Government:

Renounce its use

1. Will seize the moral leadership of the world by renouncing the use and manufacture of all atomic, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction and will stop research into these projects.

2. Will concentrate on the development of atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes.

3. Will continue to work for an agreement by all nations to ban atomic and other weapons of mass destruction.

The statement was published in full in last week's "Railway Review," together with an invitation from the editor asking readers to make known their views on the subject.

Poverty - stricken Kenya Koinange's 8 POINTS FOR PEACE

EIGHT immediate steps which should be taken to end the tense situation in Kenya were outlined last week in a statement made by Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, Delegate in Britain and member of the Executive Committee of the Kenya Africa Union (KAU).

After recalling that almost a year has elapsed since KAU—whose leaders have repeatedly condemned acts of terrorism—sent a delegation to Britain to place before the Government the serious plight of their fellow countrymen, Mr. Koinange said:

Causes of present unrest

"I believe that it is the failure of the Colonial Office and the Kenya Government to offer some hope to the poverty-stricken Africans in Kenya that has led directly to the present unrest.

"Nevertheless it would be wrong to over-emphasise the significance of recent acts of violence in Kenya.

"The incidence of violent crimes has been no greater than in neighbouring Uganda.

"The Government has stated that Mau Mau represents only a small section of the people and the fact that KAU has not been proscribed, even though most of its leaders have been arrested, indicates that the Government does not believe that it is behind Mau Mau.

"Indeed, right up until their arrest the leaders of KAU were urging Africans to keep calm and were denouncing violence as a political weapon.

"Only two days before his arrest, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, president of KAU, condemned terrorism and urged a round-table conference between all races in Kenya so as to arrive at some solution of the economic problems and to restore confidence in the country."

Effects of Government measures

After pointing out that it was impossible to over-emphasise the harm done in Kenya by the steps the Government had taken, Mr. Koinange said that the arrest of so many leaders of KAU had increased immeasurably

WHAT I SAW IN CHINA Commonsense and Germ Warfare By EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.

SINCE my return from China I have frequently been asked about the truth of the allegations about germ warfare.

Now I find it very difficult to give a simple answer to that question and would prefer to answer it fully.

I did not go to Korea and so did not have an opportunity of meeting people in the districts where it is alleged that germ warfare was used and I did not visit the American airmen prisoners of war who have confessed in such detail of the part they played in the dropping of bombs containing disease carrying insects on Korea and China.

Dr. Joseph Needham did, and his detailed evidence and that of his eminent scientific colleagues should be read dispassionately.

But I am not a scientist and have no specialist knowledge of germs and bacteria and epidemic disease.

The Pekin exhibition

However, I did visit the Bacteriological Warfare Exhibition in Pekin twice and know what it sets out to prove.

By now a very large number of Chinese

people have seen this exhibition and have no doubts at all that the case against the Americans is proved.

It is important, therefore, that we in this country should make it clear that we do not approve of germ warfare whether we are convinced that it has been used in Korea and China or not.

It is almost impossible to think of an impartial investigation committee that would be accepted by everybody.

The Chinese refuse to believe that the International Red Cross could carry out an impartial inquiry.

How many American scientists, they say, would ever dare to take even an independent minded attitude on such an investigation in view of the witch hunting that follows in the American Press when anyone is remotely suspected of being a "Red?"

Very much the same applies to British or French or German scientists who might be immediately smeared as Communists if they accepted Chinese statements as if they were objective truth.

There are the neutrals—but in the ideological cold war where are the neutrals?

Mr. Eden became almost hysterical

On the other hand, independent commissions appointed by or acceptable to the Chinese are liable to be dismissed as fellow travellers in the West. So what hope is there of getting any commission of inquiry likely to be recognised as absolutely impartial by East and West.

None, as far as I can see. Does that mean then that nothing can be done about it?

Not at all.

If we are horrified at the very idea that civilised nations would deliberately set out to spread the germs of cholera, and plague and smallpox and refuse to believe that the Americans, fighting under the auspices of the United Nations, would dream of doing so, we in Britain could make it crystal clear by announcing to the world that we had decided to close down our own bacteriological and chemical warfare research stations.

When I suggested this to the Foreign Secretary some months ago and mentioned our establishment at Porton, and that the International Red Cross should be asked to report on what is happening there he became almost hysterical and dramatically declared that this was the first he had heard about it.

Ban on visits to Porton

The Parliamentary Minister for Defence, Mr. Nigel Birch and Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Supply, have, however, been more candid and have at last admitted that Porton is there.

Mr. Sandys, however, refuses to allow any M.P. who wishes to do so to visit these mysterious precincts because it might inter-

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BRITISH PACIFISTS LOOK BACK — AND FORWARD

PPU and Peace News
celebration meeting

PN Reporters

HAPPY memories of the past and hope for the future were the keynotes of the meeting at the Conway Hall, London, last Friday, when 300 Peace Pledge Union members and Peace News readers and contributors, including many from the provinces, met for the Dick Sheppard anniversary and Peace News Birthday gathering.

The note of hope was sounded by Allen Skinner, Editor of Peace News, who said that, dreadful as were the days in which we were living, he saw reason to hope that there might be a very big swing-over—that a time might quite shortly come when peace would cease to be a "dirty word."

"There was the Labour Party Conference at Morecambe," he said. "Do not minimise what happened there."

"Whenever an opportunity shows itself, the genuine feeling of men and women does come through. It came through again yesterday in South Dorset, when the rank and file members of the local Conservative Association endorsed what Viscount Hinchinbrooke had been doing."

If a swing-over came

Allen Skinner said that if a swing-over came, Peace News would be a very important journal in the country. We must be ready to take full advantage of it.

Earlier in his speech, Allen Skinner spoke of the change which had taken place in the psychological climate since 1936, when Peace News was started. At that time, three years before the outbreak of World War II, there was still a post-war feeling.

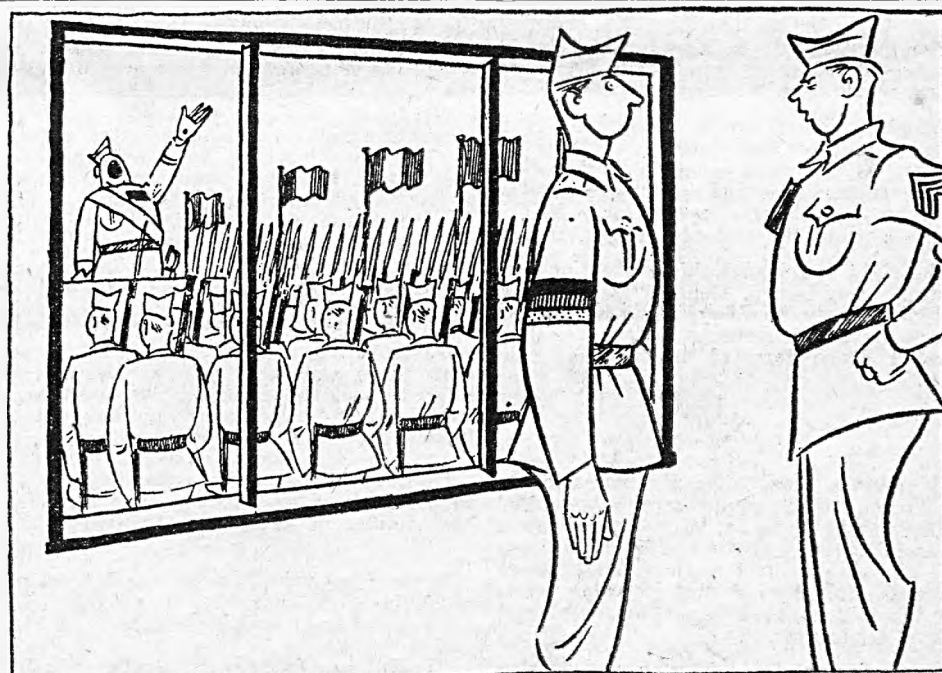
Today, only seven years after that war, the thing that was occupying us was not the dangers we had come out of, but the strong sense of the dangers that were over the world.

The danger today

"The danger that hangs over the world today is not that of the physical destruction of the world—it is the danger of moral destruction," he declared. "That, it seems to me, is something we in the pacifist movement have not yet fully grasped."

"This thing that started at Hiroshima is so dreadful that we, with the rest of the population, have to try to push it away. But it is there, and it changes the whole significance of the pacifist doctrine completely."

Those who refused to fight in World War I, he said, had been refusing to enter into armed combat—not necessarily man to man, but at least a combat that had a certain equality about it. Today it was a question not of refusing to go into armed combat, but of refusing to go into an activity which meant that death was spread over wide areas of unarmed men, women and children. Whether a war was a war



IN THE EUROPEAN ARMY

"What are you doing here, Fritz?"
"I have a holiday. The others are celebrating the anniversary of my surrender!"
From SOS

Dr. Soper speaks tonight

Dr. Donald Soper, President-designate of the Methodist Conference speaks tonight (Friday) at a great public meeting in Kingsway Hall, London, at 7.30 p.m., organised by the Methodist Peace Fellowship and entitled "Christian Peace Making."

DISCUSSING LOYALTY OATHS

San Francisco pacifists have been meeting at luncheon on Wednesdays in Clinton's Cafeteria for a series of discussions. On alternate weeks they have been devoted to the problem of loyalty oaths; the other meetings were devoted to a series of "Pacifists' Reports From Around the World."

(Reactions to Port Elizabeth—page two)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4
STamford Hill 2262 (three lines)

7th November, 1952

AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

BY the time this issue of Peace News is published we shall know which of the candidates has been elected as President of the United States.

We do not believe that the choice made is likely to result in very much difference for the cause of peace or the danger of war.

We are glad, however, that the choice will have been made for we shall at least have got past the period when issues upon which depend the lives of men, women and children have had to be treated primarily as material in an election contest.

The gain for this country in the conclusion of the contest should be that it is once more free to express its views on the policy to be pursued in the Far East, and what is to be said at the meetings of the General Assembly need no longer be held in suspense.

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Our Foreign Minister should speak out promptly and with emphasis.

He should announce that it is the policy of Great Britain (endorsed by both political parties) that the Peking Government should be recognised as the government of China, and that as such it should be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

This issue is more important than any of the matters that have been discussed at Panmunjom, and it dominates the whole situation.

It is of particular importance that the British attitude in this matter should be stated at once without equivocation, for—apart from some cautious indications by Adlai Stevenson that he might be prepared to think about this matter anew—the whole election has been fought on the assumption that the American attitude to China is a settled issue.

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In relation to Korea the difference between the two candidates may be summed up as between the General's indication that he would make "a personal trip to Korea" because "the first task of a new administration will be to review and to examine every course of action open to us with one goal in view: To bring the Korean war to an early and honourable end"; and that of the Governor that the war could only be ended "by an unshakable determination to stand firm."

The difference between these two points of view is more apparent than real for it is clear from other comments that the most likely development General Eisenhower had in mind was the training and equipment of South Korean troops to carry on the war in order that the American troops might be brought home; and this carries with it the high possibility that Chiang's Chinese divisions would also be thrown into the fight, carrying with it the greater difficulty of replacing the Chiang Government by the Mao Tse-tung Government in the U.N.

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The question of the Korean war should now be treated as an aspect of a discussion of the whole Far Eastern question.

Which China is to be recognised is a major aspect of that question.

There is no justification in urging that if the matter is settled in favour of Mao Tse-tung the Chinese would have fought their way into the United Nations.

The right to advance this contention was thrown away when General MacArthur, subsequently to be discredited, having repulsed the North Koreans beyond the 38th Parallel drove forward up to the Yalu river.

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If there is ever to be a termination to the "truce" talks, whatever is to be settled by them will have to be succeeded by a general discussion of the Far Eastern situation, and unless the American Government has made up its mind that it really wants war in the East, that discussion might just as well begin now.

The important thing in such a discussion from the British standpoint is that part of the bi-partisan British policy in foreign affairs is that the Peking Government shall be admitted to the United Nations.

Peace with no pacifism

REFERRING to the forthcoming Vienna Peace Congress, the Manchester Guardian quotes the Hungarian Communist organ Szabad Nep of July 30:

"Pacifism has as much prospect of securing peace as the ostrich with his head in the sand has of escaping danger or of defeating his enemies . . . Pacifism's aim is to deprive us of our arms . . . Pacifism and the fight against war cannot be co-ordinated."

We in Britain, however, have disillusioning recollections of efforts to co-ordinate militarism and the fight against war. The Hungarians and their Eastern neighbours have taken nearly forty years to come to the point that so many idealistic Englishmen had reached in 1914 when they fought the War to End War and were supported in their delusive hopes by writers like H. G. Wells.

The British and American militarists engaged in accumulating arms in order to negotiate from strength also complain that "Pacifism's aim is to deprive us of our arms," as does, for that matter, the Manchester Guardian. They do not talk of "fighting for peace," however, any more than they talk of a "war to end war." They are too conscious that we have heard all that before.

The Manchester Guardian has doubtless looked around for something to quote to help it make its point, and that Szabad Nep should associate armed strength with the maintenance of peace really does not call for comment any more than does the fact that the Manchester Guardian similarly associates these two things. Nevertheless the attitude indicated is one that constantly recurs in relation to World Peace Council deliberations. We are reminded of the article by M. Pierre Cot, specifically related to the work of the World Peace Council, in which he said:

"In certain Western countries, or rather in certain circles in these countries, resistance to war preparations takes a mainly passive form—neutralism, the 'without us' movement in Germany and religious pacifism. The same can be said of India and the Arab countries. Such partial forms of resistance are too weak-kneed to merit recommendation to the World Peace Council. If they become widespread they could atrophy the entire peace struggle."

The difficulty that is created by this antagonism to pacifism manifested by the guiding spirits of the World Peace Council is that it becomes apparent that pacifists in the West are regarded as of value only as they become part of the "defence" mechanism of the Eastern bloc; and in the West we are just as disillusioned and sceptical about "defence" as we are about the war to end war.

BEHIND THE NEWS

The Berlin Conference

THE International Conference on the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem will be held in West and East Berlin from November 8-11.

It is hoped that at long last representatives of both West and East Germany may be able to meet representatives of their neighbouring countries and others intimately concerned in the problem of Germany's future.

The agenda will include discussions on the conditions necessary for securing full and free elections of an all-German government; the actual terms and consequences of the Contractual Agreement; and neutrality as a practical policy.

The British Group, which has been arranging for a representative delegation to attend the conference, was asked to be responsible for opening the discussion on neutrality, and Stuart Morris has prepared a paper for that purpose.

All black—or all white

THAT there would be an attempt to link up the conference on the future of Germany with Communist propaganda was obvious, and that it would be assisted if the conference was compelled to go to East Berlin was recognised.

It is part of the strategy of those who see problems in terms of all black or all white to suggest that only those who are prepared to swallow the agreed policy of Britain and America can be honest and sincere, and that any criticism of Western policy must be Communist inspired.

This of course leaves out of account the fact that many who feel obliged to disagree with Western policy find as many reasons for disagreeing also with Eastern policy, and is just as false as the insistence that all peace lovers must support the campaign of the World Peace Council and that if they do not they are pro-American imperialists and warmongers.

It is an essential part of democracy that we should be perfectly free to criticise official policy and to submit alternatives where we believe it to be wrong.

It is possible to believe quite honestly and sincerely that if the Contractual Agreement and the European Defence Treaty are finally ratified the result will be increased tension between East and West and a greater danger of world war, and that there is an alternative.

Those who are going to Berlin only seek to discuss with those most concerned and to let the world know what that alternative is.

So far as we know the proposals are no more a reflection of the Eastern point of view than of the Western—except in so far as they are opposed to German rearmament, but in this they at least reflect the majority view in Germany itself.

The conference seeks to provide a way which could be acceptable to all concerned, a way which would involve sacrifices and risks by both sides in the cause of German unity (which all profess) and peace in Europe.

An opportunity for The Times

WE deplore the suggestion, made by the Berlin correspondent of the Times in a recent dispatch, that because it is critical of Western policy, the Berlin conference must be Communist-inspired and linked with the Vienna Congress planned for early December.

It is to be regretted that when the chairman of the British Group wrote to point out the facts to the editor of The Times, his letter was not printed, but was, we understand, noted and sent to the Berlin correspondent, so that he might rectify, when he reports the conference, any earlier inaccuracies.

We suggest that if his report shows the same bias as his original dispatch it will serve no useful purpose and that in any case a correction after the conference will not undo the damage done by prejudicing it in advance.

A recent discussion in the House of Commons in which reference was made to a leading article in The Times, was followed by another leading article in that paper headed "Misquoting The Times," which began "It is always salutary for a newspaper to be convicted of error. The only requirement is that error shall have in fact occurred and that it is not the critics who are themselves being inaccurate."

Here is an opportunity for The Times to practice what it preaches and, in our judgment, the error being undoubted, to enjoy the salutary effects of correcting it.

South Dorset follows Morecambe

THE decision of the South Dorset Conservative Association regarding Viscount Hinchinbrooke is significant.

Following a number of his speeches on foreign policy—that have been reported in Peace News from time to time—the Executive Council of the Association decided that he should not be adopted again as a candidate.

After a discussion on this matter lasting four hours, the Association itself has now carried a resolution of "no confidence" in the Executive. There were 836 votes for the resolution and 468 against. This is a further indication of public dissatisfaction with the attitude of the two political parties in Parliament on questions of foreign policy.

At the General Election the complete identity of view held by both Labour and Conservatives on armaments and foreign policy had the result that on the most important political issues that call for decision today, the electorate were disfranchised.

We have seen since, that wherever it has been possible for an expression of view to come through from the people—that has not been dictated by the two party caucuses—there has been a clear indication of disagreement with the view imposed by the political party machines. This was evidenced by the votes cast by the constituency parties for their representatives at the Labour Party Conference. It is now evidenced in the competing political party by this vote in Lord Hinchinbrooke's constituency.

China at U.N.

ONCE more the General Assembly have postponed any final decision about the representation of China, and thereby enable the present delegates of the Formosa rump to retain their seats as the Chinese people's representative.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd pointed out that they cannot be regarded as valid representatives of the de facto Government of China, but supported postponement because he regards the Peking Government as still in open aggression and will not approve of its admission while they have bloody hands.

In effect he washes his hands of any responsibility until the Peking Government washes theirs.

If the Peking Government are excluded from the UN as aggressors, the present delegates should be excluded as gate crashers.

Perhaps the best solution for the moment would be to decide that China cannot have any representatives at UN until the Korean conflict is resolved and the representatives of the Peking Government can take their proper places.

REACTIONS TO PORT ELIZABETH

By O. CALDECOTT

THE tragic race riot which occurred in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, October 18, has been followed by the usual heart-searchings and recriminations.

On the one hand, the official reaction has been exactly what might have been predicted: accusations, threats and a complete lack of perception as to causes of the riot which brought death to eleven people, injury to some twenty-seven, and considerable damage to property, including the burning of an African cinema.

On the other, came the dignified statement from the African National Congress in which it dissociated itself from the riot and drew attention to the basic causes of the violent outbreak.

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These reactions demonstrate with tragic clarity the problem which faces South Africans: to find an alternative to the two extreme policies, namely, the obliteration of the White population by the Black or the tenuous survival of the White population by means of repression, force and intimidation.

Mr. Swart, Minister of Justice, commenting on the riots—which were indeed serious enough to warrant a thorough reassessment of the whole race-relations problem, particularly as it occurred in one of the finest and least troubled Native townships in the Union—announced:

"The Government will take stern and drastic measures against this form of lawlessness."

He assured the public that the police were in full control of the situation and that there was no need for alarm (my italics), and he accused the resistance movement of "playing a dangerous game." Indeed, he blamed the resistance movement for the event in Port Elizabeth.

He gave no sign that he was in any way doubtful about past policies and anything but complacent about present ones.

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In the same vein, Mr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, replied to an invitation to meet the resistance leaders in Natal. He said:

"I do not intend to waste valuable time . . . on perfectly useless discussions with agitators who will talk about nothing else but achieving political equality . . . Nor am I prepared to discuss the illegal resistance movement with the lawbreakers or their leaders who encourage them."

He also referred to Port Elizabeth, where pass laws and other restrictions on African liberties were less than anywhere else in the Union, and said that events there proved that this leniency was an error. He suggested that the trouble arose because of the resistance movement, which was very strong in the area. (In his reply a member of the Port Elizabeth Council pointed out that Port Elizabeth had a better record than any major town in South Africa in the matter of racial peace—one night's disturbance in thirty years).

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On the other hand, the African National Congress, one of the organisations behind the resistance movement, stated that the riots marked "an ill-considered return to jungle law."

The Congress dissociated itself from and condemned the unwarranted use of arms and useless destruction of property that had taken place.

It made the point that the doctrine of apartheid, with its emphasis on the racial difference of individuals, was a dangerous creed. In the same vein, the Cape Indian Congress stated that "it abhors the use of violence and feels that only with its policy of non-violence will mankind be able to live in harmony."

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The great tragedy of South Africa is that the White reaction to the violence inspired by racial hatred (which itself results from discrimination and racial arrogance) is more repression, more police and more intimidation. These must eventually lead to tragedy on a far larger and more frightening scale.

The only encouraging aspect of the matter is the firm determination of the resistance leaders to refuse to be bludgeoned into violence. It is apparent that the government is incapable of distinguishing between the reactions to segregation of the mob and of the responsible leadership—or unwilling to do so.

Nevertheless, it is a grave tragedy that at the very time when, with courage and determination, the African people are at last applying themselves to the task of their own liberation, hatred and irresponsibility should well up and flood the land with new fears and cares and encourage in White hearts the already too-violent passions of colour consciousness.

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PEACE MAKERS AND THE PRISONS

This week a British contributor, Frank Dawtry, writes in the series of articles inaugurated by Ellen Starr Brinton, former curator of Americas' Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Frank Dawtry is secretary to the Probation Officer's Association and a member of the Peace Pledge Union National Council. He was formerly secretary to the Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.

RECENT revelations by the House of Commons Select Committee on Estimates, show that there are still black spots in our prison system and that at present it cannot cope with the number of prisoners with which it has to deal.

This, however, should not lead to the idea that there has been no progress in our prison system and methods, even since the war, during a time when the prison population has been steadily increasing.

The most drastic attempt to improve our prison system started as far back as 1923 when the Training Centre, as it was at first called, was opened at Wakefield prison.

Its experiment in communal responsibility was copied in small measure in several prisons, and developed at Wakefield itself by the establishment, in 1936, of the first prison camp, without walls or fences or armed guards.

Meantime, for boys, there had been a similar development towards open Borstal institutions.

The war saw the necessary use (necessary for war purposes) of prison labour in more constructive ways than ever before—labour on the land, in some factories, at the pit heads, in reclamation work.

Prisoners demonstrated that they wanted to work, and work hard, and gave the lie to any impression that they enjoyed the easy routine of a five-hour prison working-day.

Ancient buildings remain

With the war over there came the development of more open camp prisons and there are now about seven of these.

Within prisons useful industries have been fostered and in some cases a proper and complete trade training can be given, and in others the war-time practice of sending men to work on the land outside prison walls has continued.

This has all to be remembered against the terrible over-crowding, the news of men sleeping three in a cell, the riots of Parkhurst. These difficulties are in themselves partly the price of progressive action during the last thirty years when prisons were closed, some sold, some pulled down; and now no new ones can be built, nor is it even considered desirable that they should be built on the old lines.

The Prison Commissioners, inspired largely by the late Sir Alexander Paterson, have continuously followed an enlightened general policy, often ahead of public opinion, and they still do so.

This does not guarantee that their wishes can always be carried out, in ancient buildings, and sometimes with staff in whom ancient ideas die slowly. But the Commissioners cannot be accused of complacency about the present state of affairs; their

WE NEED NO BALLOONS

AT the Edinburgh conference of the Council of Christian Churches recently, it was decided that balloons should be sent to drop Bibles behind the Iron Curtain, as a means of spreading the Gospel in Soviet-dominated countries.

I cannot say what effect the Council imagined this latest form of anti-contamination spraying would have.

Considering the widely conflicting interpretations which have been put upon the Bible in countries West of the IC, and the nature of the disputes those differences have sometimes caused, the idea may be to start a series of religious wars among the Eastern nations and thereby reduce their military strength.

On the other hand it may have the effect of causing the benighted heathen to say, "Observe these Westerners, how they preach one thing and act another. Trust them not, brothers." They may even conclude that we are loading upon them what we clearly have little use for ourselves.

Nevertheless, the idea of free, wholesale distribution appeals to me strongly. And I'm not thinking of Bibles, but of Peace Newses. And I'm not thinking of IC countries, but of this one. If we could spread PN's gospel around here a bit more there'd be no need to send it over the Curtain, for there would be no further need for that obstruction.

But please do not send us any balloons. All we need for further distribution of our gospel is that far more easily obtainable contrivance, money. And of that we have so little that we are hard put to it to convey our gospel even to those who already want it.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Oct. 24: £37 13s. 7d.
Total since Jan. 1, 1952: £935 8s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

opportunity to remedy it is, however, limited by the economic circumstances of the time.

Nevertheless, much could be done without new building; and the better use of prison labour (manufacturers and trade unions agreeing) could well result in a substantial contribution being made to national production.

What has all this to do with the pacifist movement? Nothing directly but a good deal indirectly; and even more if we take a wide view of what we mean by the pacifist movement. The passive resisters and the peace makers have between them made an important contribution to penal reform.

The present attitude to prisoners, welcomed and endorsed by the Chairman of the Prison Commission, that men go to prison as a punishment and not for punishment, has been so accepted only after a century or more of advocacy from the outside.

This started with John Howard and was first taken up as an organised activity by some of the nineteenth century

Quakers—Elizabeth Fry, the Gurneys and the Fowell-Buxtons, who went into prison, proved that prisoners could be treated as human beings and demanded that they should be so treated.

These pioneers were men and women of peace, and the Quaker contribution to penal reform has never ceased since their day.

They brought a spirit and propagated an idea which has been constant and cumulative in its effects.

The greatest single impulse since their day came in the 1914-18 war when many men of fine character and intelligence were imprisoned as religious or political objectors to war.

They found sordid and degraded conditions and sought, even within prison, to remedy these. The knowledge they gained was passed to others outside who were able to expose some of the worst features of prison life.

The Wakefield experiment

And after the war the great work of the Labour Research Department, "English Prisons To-Day" edited by Fenner Brockway and Stephen Hobhouse, put up an unassailable call for drastic reform. This came, by great good fortune, at a time when there were prison administrators ready and willing to listen and to act.

The introduction of voluntary prison visitors was an early effect; the launching of educational schemes and evening classes was another; and the Wakefield experiment was to follow.

Its lessons were applied in limited degree throughout the prison system. But none of this could—or ever can—prevent occasional breakdowns.

If men are to be trusted in communal life, good influences can outbid the bad ones, but the risk has to be recognised that the bad may also, at times, outbid the good. That does not condemn the ideal conception and the attempt to put it into practice.

The conscientious objectors of World War II did not have to travel so hard a road as their predecessors, but they met difficulties from time to time.

Probably the greatest contribution arising from their experiences was the creation of the Prison Medical Reform Council. Roger Page largely inspired this, and it drew attention to some grave weaknesses in the medical services of the prisons.

Its work drew a public assurance from the Home Secretary that the services were adequate; a sure sign that officialdom had been stung!

Increase in social workers

The statement was followed by a large increase in medical staff and the appointment of a number of psychologists and psychiatric social workers to the prison service. This has been of great importance in the effort to understand and treat properly and constructively many men who would formerly have suffered heavier punishments as awkward or non-co-operative prisoners. Now the effort is being made to establish a special centre for the treatment of "criminal psychopaths."

To-day, authority resists the call for a restoration of flogging and the use of violent methods. The prisoner may still have a miserable cell, a short working day and not much useful work; a long lonely night; rough and ready food. But he has a hope of being regarded still as a human person.

The wisdom and vision of the pioneer reformers, the character and contribution of those who were in prison themselves, have helped to improve the lot of to-day's prisoners; and they have made a more vital and lasting contribution to the spirit actuating those who are responsible for the conduct of our prisons.

There is no opportunity yet for complacency; there is every reason for hope.

TRIUMPHS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

FACTS AND FIGURES

Commonwealth trade and the dollar problem

II. Sterling Area trade or NATO dollars?

ECONOMIC development and steady expansion of Commonwealth trade are unthinkable without substantial capital investments.

If Britain is unable to supply the necessary equipment and financial resources to the "backward areas," the economic and political unity of the Commonwealth cannot be preserved.

The pressing need for a raising of sub-human living standards was recognised in the "Colombo Plan" (Cmd. 8080):

"The level of food consumption in the whole sub-continent of India is appreciably below what it was ten years ago. The same general picture, with local variations, is presented by every country in South and South-East Asia. In these circumstances the urgent need of these countries is to develop their economies in order to increase food production and consumption and raise the real income of their peoples."

The cost of the six-year "Colombo Programme," for 450m. people, is £1,868m., two-thirds of which to be financed by the Asian Dominions, the rest by borrowing abroad or by "released sterling balances" (£246m.).

Thus Britain contributes less than £50m. yearly i.e. 2s. per head for the Asians.

Most of the contributions to "economic development" — which "improve" living standards by 2s. yearly—are not free gifts like the thousands of millions distributed as

NOVEMBER 7, 1952, PEACE NEWS,—3

By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ).

income amount to between £6 and £10 annually according to official United Nations' statistics. (No statistics have been published by the Colonial Office yet.)

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton, wrote in the Sunday Times, Oct. 14, 1951:

"Britain is living on the dollar earnings of the Colonies, who are prevented from freely converting sterling into either goods or dollars, and must willy nilly run up their sterling balances."

The Socialist Party is paying lip-service in public speeches... that these backward territories should be developed. At the same time, they seize the Colonies' own balances by which these desirable ends could be attained."

The top table shows that the Conservatives do the same.

The old colonial policy, based on land robbery, "cheap labour" and production for exports, is an anachronism today. Because hunger is the "limiting factor" of efficiency, productivity rates must remain low. More food means larger output.

British exports to Colonies, e.g. textiles and household goods, cannot expand without raising the income levels of natives. "Cheap labour" provides a dollar surplus (see Table below) but keeps Lancashire cotton workers idle.

The more Commonwealth trade depends on exports to America, the greater the sacrifices to "save and earn dollars." Moreover, as long as 13 per cent. of the national output is devoured by rearmament, Britain

BRITAIN'S STERLING BALANCES (LIABILITIES)

U.K. Debts in £ million:	COLONIES ("Dependent territories")	DOMINIONS and "£-Area" countries	\$-Area	Other West Hemisph.	West Europe (OEEC)	Rest of the World
Dec. 31 1947	510	1,787	18	235	480	573
do. 1950	754	1,978	79	45	395	492
do. 1951	969	1,822	38	57	409	514
June 30 1952	1,042	1,513	18	8	349	467

SOURCE: Cmd. 8666, p.27.

NOTE: Whereas the Balances of Colonies increased by £532m. between Dec. 1947 and June 1952, those of all other areas declined. This means Britain's Sterling debts were largely paid with the money taken from the Colonies.

"Marshall Aid" and "Mutual Security Assistance," but just released "blocked balances" owed by Britain to Asian Dominions.

ASIANS WANT FOOD—NOT ARMS

Mr. Churchill stated in Parliament, on Oct. 23, regarding the A-bomb test:

"As to the cost, as an old Parliamentarian I was rather astonished that well over £100m. should be dispensed without Parliament being made aware of it."

"All those concerned in the production of the first British atomic bomb are to be warmly congratulated... and I should no doubt pay my compliments to the Leader of the Opposition and the party opposite (Labour) for initiating it."

The amount spent for the A-bomb yet—perhaps followed by a multiple of £100m. for "A-Defence"—exceeds twice Britain's yearly contribution to "development" for 450m. people.

Asian Dominions have the following average yearly income per head of population (Cmd. 8080, pp. 69, 78, 84): India £23; Pakistan £24; Ceylon £23. The average in Britain is ten times higher: £230.

The Colombo Plan disclosed that India's annual real income per head had fallen by 15 per cent. between 1945 and 1949.

"In India at present the people's diet consists almost entirely of cereals, and in the rationed urban areas they consume only about 12 ozs. of food grains a day."

It is not surprising that the Asian Dominions are indignant about cutting imports "to save dollars." Britain's attitude was summarised with a bitter comment by Pakistan Times, Sept. 30, 1950 (quoted by PN, Nov. 10, 1950): "Please earn and save more and more dollars for Britain's expenditure."

At the coming Commonwealth Conference the "economically backward" Dominions will surely press for more food, instead of a larger output of A-bombs.

In most of the Colonies the natives' yearly

cannot supply the necessary machines and equipment for expanding output in Commonwealth countries by capital development.

DEVELOPMENT OR DOLLAR BEGGING?

Can the development and economic future of the Commonwealth be based on "dollar assistance"? Britain's dollar reserves (\$1,685m.) are now below the 1945 level (\$2,476m.) when the Washington Loan was negotiated. But \$175m. (\$62m.) interests are due on U.S. and Canadian loans next December.

"Economic experts" of the so-called "Mutual Security Agency" in Washington have produced a new plan for an "Atlantic Monetary Fund" (Financial Times, Oct. 30) providing for:

1. An Atlantic (NATO) reserve system with a working capital of several thousand million dollars to "restore the convertibility of sterling."
2. An Economic Board for "co-ordination" of economic and trade policies of NATO countries.
3. A Commodity Board for price stabilisation of raw materials.

The former Labour Executive, in a pamphlet "Towards World Plenty"—a misnomer—implored the U.S. (p.16) to assist in the development of "backward areas."

Mr. J. Amery (Con. Preston N.) said in Parliament on July 30, 1952:

"The Bretton Woods Agreement, the Washington Loan, etc., have been milestones on the road not to recovery but to disaster. We have got to build up a trading area of the sterling countries."

Clearly, Britain cannot belong to two economic systems: to the "NATO-Fund" and to the Commonwealth.

It remains to be seen whether the new Labour Executive, guided by the principles laid down at the Morecambe Conference, will oppose new loans and prevent Labour from becoming "the party of dollar beggars."

COMMONWEALTH TRADE WITH THE \$-AREA.

\$-million	UNITED KINGDOM	COLONIES (Dependent territories)	DOMINIONS and £-Area countries
1948 EXPORTS*	922	490	635
IMPORTS*	1,988	326	1,109
Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	—1,066	+164	—474
1951 EXPORTS, etc.	1,308	658	1,005
IMPORTS	2,549	210	1,199
Surplus or Deficit	—1,241	+448	—189
1952 EXPORTS, etc.**	795	310	405
(Jan.-June) IMPORTS	1,207	120	709
Surplus or Deficit	—412	+190	—304

SOURCE: Cmd. 8666, pages 20 and 34.

NOTES: * All current transactions ("visibles" and "invisibles") are included. ** Incl. "Mutual Security" Defence Aid. \$162m.

In 1951 the Colonies contributed about 25 per cent. of the Sterling Area's commodity exports ("visibles") to the \$-Area, but received only about 5 per cent. of the \$-Area's dollar imports. It means that the Colonies are financing a large part of Britain's dollar deficit.

Britain's atom-bomb plants named

The Daily Herald, on Oct. 24, reported that the following are the six centres of Britain's new atomic bomb industry.

HARWELL (Berks) is the research HQ.
RISLEY (Lancs) production centre controls SPRINGFIELDS, near Preston, where uranium ore is processed.
SELLAFIELD (Cumberland) manufactures plutonium in two giant furnaces.
CAPENHURST (Cheshire) is believed to be concentrating on the production of "Uranium 235," the highly-explosive atom-fuel.
ALDERMASTON, near Reading, is on work so secret that only the bare location has been given officially.

Pacifists demonstrated outside the atomic plant at Aldermaston in April this year. Speaking on the village green, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union said:

"Let us create a public opinion that demands that the work carried on in this lovely village of Aldermaston be harnessed not to imperialism, power politics and power economics but to constructive purposes, to medical research, the curing of cancer, to the creation of a new source of power and the raising of the standard of life throughout the world."

"The Psychology of War and Peace"

LONDON CONFERENCE

"THE Psychology of War and Peace" is the title for a London Area Peace Pledge Union Conference to which all are invited.

It will take place in the Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2 (near the Coliseum) on Saturday and Sunday, November 15 and 16.

There will be three sessions in the programme which is as follows:

Saturday

2.30 p.m. "Origins of Aggressiveness." Opening speaker, John Gray, followed by tea at 4.15 p.m.

5.30 p.m. "Economic Power," Douglas Clark. Followed by entertainment at 7 p.m. and supper at 8 p.m.

Sunday

2.30 p.m. Conference re-assembles for final session. "Suggestibility and Propaganda" Oliver Caldecott. Followed by tea at 4.15 and summing up of the conference discussions by Moyra Caldecott, M.A.

The Speakers

A welcome feature of the conference will be the participation of two South African pacifists, Mr. and Mrs. Caldecott, at present working in Britain. Oliver Caldecott was at one time President of the S. African Students' Union, has taken a Post Graduate degree in philosophy at Cape Town University, and is engaged in publicity work.

Moyra Caldecott was formerly English Lecturer at Cape Town University and is now working with the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

The opening speaker, John Gray, was a CO in World War II, during which period he had a varied career as teacher and social and research worker. Was the author of a provocative article in the July PPU Journal, under the nom-de-plume of "Spicelander." Douglas Clark is known throughout the PPU—or at least his signature is—as PPU accountant.

Chairman of the conference will be Hugh Brock, Chairman of the London Area and Assistant Editor of Peace News.

The hour's entertainment will be in the hands of Nancy Edmonds, Phyllis Vallance and Harry Mister.

Tea will be provided. Those attending are asked to bring their own food for tea and supper.

Book now for next summer!

THE Peace Pledge Union has provisionally booked the Sun-Ray Guest House, Abergele, North Wales, as a summer holiday and conference centre for the week of August 8 to 15, 1953.

It is to be a family holiday, and the cost will not exceed £5 for adults, £3 for children between 11 and 15, and £2 7s. 6d. for children of 10 years and under.

Any readers wishing to go are asked to send provisional bookings as soon as possible to Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, or give their names to their local PPU Group secretary.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND PACIFISTS

should be on the roll of their own pacifist society. Send a card for particulars to the

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

Newington Rectory, 59 Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11.

LANgham 1437

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"Young men are changed into beasts by the army"

—Teacher tells Tribunal

By MARY WILLIS

"TO me it is hateful that young men, who by civilised instincts abhor killing, and even turn their heads away at the sight of a dog being run over, are changed by the Army into beasts who would be proud of the number of fellows of the human race they would be able to kill in the event of war" said Anthony Helliwell, an art teacher of Osbirtown Road, S.E.12, at the Fulham Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on October 24.

The Chairman, Judge Sir Gerald Hargreaves, pointed out that it was generally agreed that aggressive warfare was to be avoided at all costs, but what has to be done when a powerful force bullied a weak nation? What about the concentration camps?

Mr. Helliwell said he thought the best way to prevent concentration camps was to increase the power of the Christian Church. He himself, though not a member of any denomination, was doing what he could to support the Congregational Church at Blackheath.

Asked whether he would be willing to do non-combatant duty, he said that at one time he had thought of going into the Army Educational Corps, where, as an art teacher, he could have done some moral good, but he felt that his ideas would be in constant conflict with those which were taught by the army. The same thing would apply to any non-combatant unit.

He was told that he would have to carry his mental processes a good deal further before he could arrive at a conscientious objection, and his name was removed from the register.

Friendship at all costs

Arthur Boorne, a Baptist, and a member of the FoR, of Wallingford, Berks, said he believed that the use of the force of arms in international relationships was not consistent with Christian ethics.

Asked if this did not mean "peace at any price," he said he thought it did.

Sir Gerald: Where do you get that? Many Christians take the view that it is the life of the soul that is very important, and not the life of the body, and that it is permissible for Christians to sacrifice human life in order to establish what they believe to be right.

Mr. Boorne: I believe that it is right to sacrifice your own life, but never the life of another.

Sir Gerald: Once you have arrived at the conclusion that you can sacrifice your own life, why should not others be sacrificed also?

Mr. Boorne: Jesus Christ sacrificed His own life. He never sacrificed anyone else.

Sir Gerald: But did He ever say that no-one else must be sacrificed? Most of His disciples were also sacrificed. What I want to get at is what you rely on when you place such a tremendous value on human life.

Mr. Boorne: Man is made in the image of the Lord.

After hearing evidence from his minister, the Rev. Missen, who said he believed the lad was deeply sincere, the tribunal agreed that he should accept work which had been offered to him by the Friends' Ambulance Unit International Service.

Peace posters in his garden

Michael Serjeant of Court Farm, Hove, who hopes to become a doctor, told the Tribunal, "I refuse to serve in the armed forces because I object to killing others and

GERMANS PROTEST AT MINING OF BRIDGES

MANY mayors and town councils in the Stuttgart area of Germany are protesting against the mining of roads and bridges by the occupation authorities.

The Lord Mayor of Heilbronn, on learning of arrangements to mine the bridges over the Neckar, gave instructions to the police to watch the bridges and prevent the work being done. He also sent a telegram to Dr. Maier, Premier of the provincial government, pointing out that one of the greatest crimes of the Nazi régime had been to destroy the homeland and blow up the bridges.

Other protests have come from the local authorities at Neckarsulm, Pforzheim, Neuenburg and Birkenfeld.

A workman who refused to work on the building of an explosive chamber under a road was told by the manager of his local labour exchange that his unemployment pay would be stopped.

It is pointed out that in some isolated country districts, the blowing up of roads might have the effect of cutting off their only link with the outside world. One explosive chamber is being built at a spot where there is a protective wall to avert the danger of avalanches and others at places where, if they were exploded, it would result in the damming up of a river and extensive flooding.



... accept work in the Friends Ambulance Unit International Service."

Above: A British CO undergoes training at the FAUIS centre.

share their views, and in answer to many questions he was unable to explain why he thought it wrong to kill.

The Clerk of Brighton Friends' Meeting said in a letter that Michael Serjeant had been very active in helping to arrange peace meetings locally, and had, on his own initiative, displayed pacifist posters in the front garden of his home.

The Chairman said that the applicant could not be granted exemption, since he had not established the grounds of his objection.

PACIFISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

"LESS HOSTILITY"

—Archdeacon Hartill

IN an introduction to the annual report of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, which has just been published, the Chairman, the Archdeacon Hartill, writes: "We still make slow progress; but I am sure that the hostility to our cause is decreasing. Many who were opponents are now sympathetic, even though they cannot yet see their way to accept our position."

The Fellowship, which was inaugurated in 1937, gained 90 new members during the 12 months ending June 11, 1952. The total membership is now 2,542, which includes 408 clergy and 9 deaconesses.

All members have signed a declaration to renounce war and all preparation to wage it.

The main activity organised by APF HQ is a conference which is held every summer, and there are 10 local groups in different parts of the country which hold regular meetings and study circles, and also a New Zealand group with 39 members.

The Governing Body has decided that it is time to make an approach to the clergy on the Christian attitude to modern war, and has drawn up a letter which it is proposed to send to each individual Anglican clergyman asking him to examine six carefully considered points.

There are over 15,000 clergymen in the country.

TRANSLATORS WANTED

THE War Resisters' International which deals with world-wide correspondence needs still further voluntary help with translation work from and into German, Italian, French, Hebrew and Japanese.

Offers of help from readers of Peace News would be very gratefully received by the Secretary, War Resisters' International, 88, Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middx., who would then give further particulars.

"Never again"—German doctor

GERMAN doctors are anxious about the part they will have to play if the suggested plans for a remilitarisation of Germany go through.

This fact was revealed at a Press conference in connection with a recent medical congress in Berlin attended by doctors from Eastern and Western Germany.

In answer to a question, Professor Rodewald of Kiel (W. Germany) said that a new German Army would involve medical men in a dilemma of conscience.

Perhaps the state had a right to expect doctors to undertake certain duties in connection with military service.

He personally, however, would say to any such call "Never again!"

Speaking in another connection he said: "We have a moral obligation to refuse service as doctors in the army."

TOLD BRIEFLY

U.S. non-violent resister beaten up by police

DICK KERN, one of a dozen pacifists distributing leaflets during New York City's A-bomb raid drill on Sept. 30, was beaten by policemen and then charged with felonious assault.

Just as Kern was finishing distribution of his leaflets, a policeman came over and told him to stop.

Insisting on his rights, Kern then proceeded to read the leaflet to the crowd. Before he got very far, two policemen seized him and he went limp, refusing to co-operate.

They thereupon pushed him into a cab and drove to the police station.

During the cab journey, reports The Peacemaker, the police "gave him the workover, with a few additional blows in the station house."

When Kern appeared in court, he had a swollen black eye. Kern was released on \$1,500 (£562) bail and the case was set for hearing later. Conrad Lynn is his attorney.

The leaflet he was distributing was headed "Preventative Civil Defence." It asserts that "the only realistic civil defence today is to prevent the bombs from ever dropping."

Many New York pacifists have undergone extensive training in the art of "going limp" and frequently rehearse "beating up" scenes to eliminate any risk of striking the police arising from an instinctive reaction to ward off blows.

"The 'Friends of India', Dundee, recently sent a telegram to the High Commissioner for South Africa in London, condemning the policy of racial discrimination prevailing in South Africa and urging that the South African Government should provide equal rights to all its subjects regardless of race or colour.

Frederick Woodhouse, the singer, of the Musicians' Organisation for Peace, and Mrs. Martin B.A., of "Teachers for Peace" were the speakers at a well-attended public meeting held by the West Sussex Area FoR at Worthing recently.

Great-grandmother thanks South Western Star

A "MOTHER, grandmother and great-grandmother of boys" has written to the South Western Star, thanking them for the publicity which they gave to the PPU leaflet on the atomic bomb (PN, Oct. 3).

The correspondent, who signs herself C.E.W. and is, we understand, a member of the PPU, says that "when our ancestors fought with clubs or swords, it was at least fair play. There is nothing of that about bombing."

Speaking of the babyhood of her children, she writes "as the little hands spread out I, being a praying woman, have asked that they might become useful, helpful, clean and kind hands. I would rather have seen them cold and still in death, as I did one pair, than have them made to do such diabolical work as modern warfare demands. That is an outrage on motherhood."

A resolution expressing profound indignation at the manufacture of an atom bomb in this country was passed unanimously at a meeting organised by the Taunton Peace Group on October 25, and addressed by PPU field worker, Connie Jones. "Britain being one of the most civilised countries in the world has no right to degrade her culture by forging weapons capable of causing agony to millions of human beings," it said.

Five films, including "Never Again" and "Brotherhood of Man," will be shown at a meeting organised by the Education Committee of the Hampstead Peace Council at Hampstead Town Hall on November 25. There will also be a talk by John Alexander, MA, author of "Films for Peace or War" on "The Influence of the Film."

Catholic Peace Congress condemns Cold War

OVER 3,000 people from 16 countries attended the annual congress of the Catholic peace organisation, "Pax Christi," which was held at Assisi in September under the chairmanship of its president, Monseigneur Feltin, Archbishop of Paris.

The congress was preceded by a three-day study-commission on the cold war which presented its findings to the congress as a whole. The cold war was described as a means of destroying one's opponents by systematic enmity, short of war, which stood in the way of any attempt at peace-making. The Christian could not approve the cold war, and must condemn it, said the commission.

Pax Christi called on all Christians to oppose the cold war propaganda, and to overcome the all-pervading fear by fearlessly spreading the truth.

Delegates were received by the Pope, who called on them not to falter in their prayers and their work for peace. "The Church believes in peace," said His Holiness, "and she never ceases to remind statesmen that all political and economic difficulties can be solved by negotiation."

Letters to

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Letters to the Editor on

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND MODERN WEAPONS OF WAR

JOSEPH PRACHAR (PN, Oct. 24) has some curious ideas about "the late Gandhi" as he chooses to call him.

Gandhi never claimed that non-violence would give anybody a guarantee of safety or security: nor did Jesus. The way of non-violence is a way of faith; and the characteristic of faith is that you go forward without knowing what is round the corner.

"Push-button war" makes no difference to this faith. It does not even revolutionise the material situation. In Gandhi's time an enemy bomber had no means of distinguishing between pacifists and non-pacifists. We took our chances together, if war started.

Non-violent resistance, being an essentially personal thing, had to be practised not against the bombs (even pre-atomic bombs) but against efforts to secure one's co-operation in evil. Hence Gandhi's satyagraha movement in India and the refusal of military service by pacifists in other countries.

What Gandhi did make clear (and it is still equally relevant) was that an unarmed people, with goodwill and fearlessness, could still offer resistance—a resistance that aimed not at conquest but at conversion.

And where a people offers no armed resistance "push-button war" becomes irrelevant. Nobody, even in this mad world, is as yet mad enough to send projectiles against a country which is unarmed and defenceless. The aggressor, it is true, might occupy the

disarmed country; but if he does so he exposes himself to the pacifist "weapons" of his victims. The position becomes the same as it might have been at any time in history—a human and personal problem.

Whether Gandhi's methods would have been equally effective in entirely different surroundings is a purely speculative question. What I am quite certain about is the fact that he would have acted in the same spirit. He might have "failed." Indeed, he did "fail" in India, if Godse's bullet had the last word in the matter. Socrates failed; Jesus failed; St. Stephen failed. And we might never even have heard of Stephen if he had succeeded: it was one of his murderers who turned his failure into a triumph. But did Stephen know, when the stones began to fall? Was anybody standing by to guarantee "the late Stephen" that the blood of an apparently futile and obscure martyrdom would be the seed of the Church? He just had faith in the stand he took: what we seem to be looking for is a blueprint of the future.

REGINALD REYNOLDS,

20, Jubilee Place,

Chelsea, S.W.3.

Not impractical

WHEN considering the possibilities of non-violent resistance in present circumstances, we must not forget that these will be very limited indeed during the time of actual conflict, and that the most fruitful time will be before and after attack.

Gandhi himself did not have to deal with invading armies and I would suggest that his method will always be successful in overthrowing the authority of a ruling occupation force after invasion.

War was impersonal enough in his day, but would his efforts have been any less successful if Britain had bombed or gassed his unarmed "troops"? On the contrary, although immediate visible results (such as those described by Miss Dorothy Glaister when armed policemen found themselves morally unable to continue using violence) would have been less likely, the impact on society as a whole and ultimately on the users of violence themselves, would have been even greater than it was. Britain used only the minimum of violence precisely because she realised this.

The emergence of still more horrible and impersonal weapons does not render impractical non-violent action; it does, however, demand greater courage and greater sacrifice in the resister. It means that we cannot expect immediate results; we cannot expect to convert the Panzer division, or the high flying bomber squadron; we must be prepared to make even the ultimate sacrifice in the faith that by doing so we will reach out to the hearts and minds of our opponents, and advance human society one stage nearer to a new and happy state.

MICHAEL J. RANDLE,

Little Gattin,

Gatton Road, Reigate.

Not a substitute for pacifism

THE solution of the dilemma posed by Mr. Joseph A. Prachar is to realise that it disappears as soon as one gives up the error of equating pacifism and non-violent resistance.

Pacifism is a mystic faith that good is bound to triumph over evil as long as it remains good itself and does not degrade itself by using evil means. One only uses the word "mystic" because their faith rests on a philosophic basis and has had insufficient practical exemplification. Non-violent resistance argues a deficiency of faith. It aims at producing some of that immediate practical success which violent resistance produces and, as your correspondence shows, its advocates are naturally disturbed when they find this success dwindling away. They then get tied up in a dilemma of their own making.

If a pacifist is ordered to fight he must disobey the order. If this is called non-violent (and not rather passive) resistance, it is the one form of non-violent resistance which is inseparably bound up with pacifism. The pacifist may add others to this act of disobedience, but he does so in order to be consistent with his first principle, not, as it were, to cripple the military efficiency of the enemy. As he doesn't aim at immediate practical success, the question of failure presents him with no dilemma.

The pacifist may go a stage further. He may use non-violent resistance as a weapon of victory. Such a weapon was Gandhi's

fast. There is nothing to be said against this and much to be said for it, provided it is only regarded as a tentative method and not as a substitute for the faith itself. If that is done failure will present no dilemma.

One must remember that many of those who practised non-violent resistance in the late war would have used violent resistance had it been possible. They are therefore far removed from the pacifist faith.

D. G. WILLIAMS,

153 Finlay Road,

Gloucester.

Britain and the atom bomb

THE British people are now committed to the use of the Atom Bomb to slaughter little children, defenceless women and old people by the thousand. This is a terrible decision for a people to take, or to have forced upon them by a small handful of fearful men. The representatives of the people have had no say in this decision affecting the soul of a great people. Is this democracy?

To accept this great evil as our normal way of life shows how, in a few short years, our moral fibre has degenerated, and how the public conscience—to say nothing of the Christian conscience—has been smothered and our moral values disintegrated.

Now that we have demonstrated that we have the "know-how" of this horrible thing, our country (not merely the Government) should bring all its powers to bear on the banning of the Atom Bomb just as we did about the use of gas. We should also include the Napalm Bomb.

A State which is committed to such hideous crimes cannot expect its citizens to grow up faithful to Christian standards.

E. A. COLLINS,

Christian Action Fellowship.

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As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, November 7

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Midland Institute, Paradise St.; Public Mtg.: "Britain Bridge or Battlefield?" Victor Yates and Stuart Morris; PPU.

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Laycock's (Library); Chnr. J. Backhouse will speak mtg. of newly-formed PPU Group.

LINCOLN: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Mount St.; Public Mtg.: "The Work of the FSU"; For and IVSP.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for the Rev. E. W. Dawe; AFP, For.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall; public mtg.; Dr. Donald Soper MA "Christian Peacemaking"; MPF.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Upper Lattimore Rd.; Canon L. J. Collins "The Road to Peace"; For.

SAFFRON WALDEN: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; public mtg.; Rev. Dr. C. E. Dawson on "Christianity and the World Situation"; For.

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Sunday, November 9

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m.; St. Andrews (Kent) Hall; public mtg.: "It Can Be Peace"; Sybil Morrison and John Rankin MP; PPU.

Monday, November 10

BERKHAMPTSTEAD: 8 p.m. All Saints Hall, Cross Oak Rd.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire on "The Church and Peace"; For BRISTOL: 7.15 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Broadwell; public mtg.; Dr. C. E. Raven on "The Christian Basis of Pacifism"; AFP.

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. Queens Rd Baptist Church; "Impressions of my Recent Visit to Russia"—Mrs. Agnes Stapledon; Chair: Walter L. Chinn, MA; PPU and WIL.

HAYWARDS HEATH: 7.30 p.m. Cong. Ch. Hall, South Rd.; public mtg.; Edith Adlam on Korea; For.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner—"Seeing for Myself in Russia"; For.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.45 p.m. Rickett House, Lovaine Row; public mtg.; Dr. Frank T. Farmer on "The effects of Atomic Weapons—Is Civil Defence a Practical Proposition?" PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Church Ho.; St. James St.; Mr. W. P. Donohue on "Crusade for World Government"; PPU.

Tuesday, November 11

HUDDERSFIELD: 8 p.m. 29 Red Doles Rd.; Fartown; public mtg.: Mr. Alan Lowson (Probation Officer) on "Family Service Units"; For.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd.; E. Sheen; "A Pacifist Review 1648-1952" by Harry Moore; PPU.

SCARBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Public Library; Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones on "Race Relations and World Order"; SoF.

WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Alma St. Church Hall; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner on "Talking Peace in Moscow"; chair: Rev. C. E. Guy; For.

Wednesday, November 12

BOW, E.3: 8 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd.; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford H. Macquaire—"My Visit to Russia"; PPU and For.

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Broadwell; News Commentary by Jack Radnedge; PPU.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Wesley Church, Elm Rd.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner—"Talking Peace in Moscow"; Methodist Peace F'ship.

LUTON: 8 p.m. 146 Wardown Crescent; PPU Group Mtg.

SAIFORD: 7.30 p.m. Dock Mission, New Park Rd.; public discussion on "The Christian or the Communist Approach to Peace"; openers: J. Cohen, Secretary, C.P. and Rev. C. R. Smith; For.

Thursday, November 13

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Digbeth Institute (Schoolroom); public mtg.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire on his visit to the Soviet Union; For.

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. PPU members meet at 12 Stoney Stanton Rd for leaflet distribution.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg.; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Bush Rd.; Mr. Green on "Peace by Negotiation"; PPU.

Friday, November 14

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Mount St.; Rev. J. W. Dyer on "A Faith called Pacifism"; PPU.

NEWCASTLE STAFFS: 7.30 p.m. Municipal Hall; Public Conference for Peaceful Solution of German Problem; Gordon Schaffer, Stephen Swingle MP, Dr. Barnett Stross MP; sponsors include local PPU Chairman.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner on "Seeing for Myself in Russia"; For.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Dunstall Rd Baptist Tabernacle; Rev. Clifford Macquaire—"My Recent Visit to the USSR"; Baptist Men's Guild and For.

Sat. Nov. 15-Sun. Nov. 16

LONDON W.C.1: Westminster F.M.H. 52 St. Martin's Lane; PPU London Area Weekend Conference "The Psychology of War and Peace"; Sat. 2.30 John Gray on "Origins of Aggression"; 5.30 Douglas Clark on "The Power of Economics"; 7.0 Social. Sun. 2.30 Oliver Caldecott on "Suggestibility and Propaganda"; 4.15 Summary by Moyra Caldecott.

Monday, November 17

OXFORD: 8.15 p.m. Regents Park Coll. Hall; Pusey St.; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford H. Macquaire—"Talking Peace in Moscow"; For.

Wednesday, November 19

W. LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. 15 New 'Scarbro' Rd.; Bramley; discussion on Peace News; PPU.

Thursday, November 20

FAVERSHAM: 7.30 p.m. Baptist Ch. Schoolroom; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford H. Macquaire—"Seeing for Myself in Russia"; For.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Bush Rd.; Frank Dawtry on Personal Pacifism; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg.; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Friday, November 21

SCARBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Public Library; Reginald Reynolds on "The Challenge to us"; SoF.

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

EAST HAM People's Peace Conference, Town Hall (Minor Hall) 7.45 p.m. Friday Nov. 14. Chairman: Rev. L. J. Bliss.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

SCALA THEATRE, British Premiere "Broken Fetters." Life of Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian poet. Also "Soviet Latvia." Wed. Nov. 19 at 7.30 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d., 2s., 3s., 4s., 7s. 6d. from Ed Cttee. Russian Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., E.C.1 (S.A. Env. please).

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

YUGOSLAVIA. Reunion and Public Meeting. Friends' House, Euston Rd. Nov. 14, 7 p.m. Speakers: Leah Manning, Charles Ford, M. P. Knezevic, First Secretary, Yugoslav Embassy. Films: "The Bridge," "Dalmatian Coast." Holiday Friendship Service.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

NATURE CURE Health Centre, Blunham House, Bedfordshire. Apply to the Secretary for particulars.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRL, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield Middlesex.

What Britain should do about germ warfare

★ Continued from page one

fere with the routine work that the scientists are engaged on.

This is, obviously, a very flimsy excuse. A few weeks ago I was invited to join a party of MPs who were going to visit one of our big ordnance factories to inspect the production of tanks.

If MPs can go in this way to see the latest tanks being produced what can be the real objection to visiting Porton?

The visit need only take a few hours and the scientists could easily spare us an hour or so in order to convince us that the bacteria they are experimenting on are purely defensive and are being produced to attack the germs that the Chinese and Russians may be preparing to spread disease here.

For that is one line of the apologists who have got as far as admitting that Porton is there.

Frightening Russians and Chinese

The other is that the best method of defence is offence; we can frighten off the Russians and the Chinese if they possess offensive bacteria by showing that we can spread typhus and cholera and smallpox quicker in Moscow or Shanghai than they could do in London or Glasgow or Chicago.

The Americans, as usual, have been more open mouthed about their wonderful achievements in the way of germ war research than we have, and the most interesting exhibits I saw in the Pekin Exhibition were the enlarged reproductions of quotations from USA scientists and military experts of what they have ready to use against enemy population in the event of war.

After the visiting Chinese have read these they have no difficulty in accepting the next conclusion that experiments in this new line of warfare have actually begun and that they have been the chosen victims. They remember that an Asian people were chosen for the first experimental atom bombs and they are convinced that (in spite of the indignant denials of Mr. Acheson and Mr. Eden, whom they say might not have been told every detail of what has been done by the military men in Korea) experiments in the ghastly business have secretly begun.

Close experimental station

I know no more effective way of disposing of the accusation that we intend using germ warfare methods in the next war than for the Prime Minister to come to the Dispatch Box and announce that he had decided to prove to the world our genuine horror at the idea of germ warfare by closing our germ warfare experimental station down.

When I was asked after a visit to the Pekin Exhibition if I would write any observations and suggestions I had to make in the visitors' book I declined and said I would make my suggestions in the proper place.

This is the British House of Commons and I have done so and I hope others will join with me when I say that the complete and final answer to the Chinese or the Russians that we are preparing for this hideous and gruesome way of exterminat-

ing them is to shut down Porton and put the scientists employed there on research work which will benefit humanity.

I see some Tory MPs have embarked on a campaign for gingering up the Government to cut down unnecessary Government departments, and public expenditure.

Why not start at Porton?

Dr. Crippen's successors

There is surely something completely un-British in these new and horrible methods of warfare.

Poisoning is regarded as one of the most terrible crimes.

When a widow is charged with poisoning her husband with arsenic the case is regarded as so important that we must send the Attorney General himself to prosecute.

Yet at the same time we are employing able scientists to investigate how poisoning can be carried out on a large scale.

We hang our Seddons and Dr. Crippens amidst universal execration, but we are spending money investigating how we can improve on their methods for destroying whole populations. And this all comes under the heading of Defence.

PEACE NEWS BIRTHDAY MEETING

● Continued from page one

of defence or aggression was now a secondary matter.

"There are some things one cannot do, even for defence and retain one's own sense of worth. One cannot defend oneself by spreading napalm over men, women and children."

Labelled Fascists—then Communists

The early days of the Peace Pledge Union were recalled by Vera Brittain, who told the meeting how Dick Sheppard had asked her to become one of the sponsors after she had spoken with him, George Lansbury and Donald Soper at a great open-air rally at Dorchester in 1936. "For one glorious year I worked with Dick and spoke with him at many of his meetings. Then he died, and the PPU went on," she said.

In the years that followed, peace had been a difficult thing to stand for. During the second world war, pacifists were identified in the public mind with Fascists, and after the war peace became identified with Communism. In all these vicissitudes it had been forgotten that the pursuit of peace was the basis of every great religion.

"It is well for us, who belong to a body that was founded by a great churchman, to remember that whatever is said about peace by different political parties, peace is part of the great religious ideal that the world presses forward to. We in the PPU, whatever we are called and whatever is said about us, are going to press forward in Dick Sheppard's memory," she concluded.

How Peace News began

Humphrey Moore, founder-editor of Peace News, described the early history of the paper from the time when, in 1935, a pacifist study group which he was leading had come to realise that the peace publications which were then available were not suitable for the unthinking and the unconverted.

They decided to try to meet the need for a popular peace weekly, and started Peace News with a capital of £6 produced by a whip-round among themselves, to which was soon added £50 from an independent woman peace worker. The first issue remained current for three weeks, while the group sold it in the street. After the sixth issue appeared they began to get the financial backing of Dick Sheppard and the PPU.

All along they had the help and encouragement and devotion of hundreds of ordinary people, and some outstanding ones like Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury and Vera Brittain, who showed their true greatness by not stinting their service.

His wife, said Humphrey Moore, was a tower of strength in publicity, and turned out one of the rooms of their house to provide a rent-free office for the paper.

Getting past Nazis with the news

They had a panel of unpaid and faithful correspondents in this and a dozen other countries—literally from China to Peru. There was an Austrian correspondent who got his copy past the Nazis by smuggling it over in the folds of a Nazi-approved newspaper.

At one time the circulation reached 35,000 copies, and during the war, before

Some of the Peace News is missing!

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The defender's dilemma

I am no pacifist. I will fight for my home at the frontiers of my country with personal weapons. But I will not purchase life at the price of mass annihilation of innocent people.

—Reginald Thompson, Peace News, August 29, 1952.

How could I regard myself as a pacifist when I desired so passionately that the workers should win the civil war in Spain? Was it not clear that if I were faced personally with the issue of defending a social revolution I would do so despite theoretical views about non-violence? Thus I came to see that it is not the amount of violence used which determines good or evil results, but the ideas, the sense of human values . . . behind its use.

—Fenner Brockway, "Inside The Left."

THERE are so many people of the utmost integrity with a strong sense of social justice, and with a true conscientious objection to the use of violence as a means to an end, who yet cannot accept the full pacifist position, that it is incumbent upon pacifists to examine their case, with sympathy and understanding, and with the greatest care.

Those who are appalled at the mass destruction of the innocent, and yet while denouncing it as cowardly and immoral, feel bound to make a mental reservation either that an aggressive attack on their own country is different, and therefore permissible, or that it may be necessary

to go to war in support of an idea, are in fact attempting to split a hair which is too fine, too delicate, too true to be left.

There were many socialists who, like Fenner Brockway, wanted the workers in Spain to win, and they therefore supported them in a war against a Fascist tyranny. They helped to supply weapons, they joined in the Spanish Republican Army, many of them willingly sacrificed their lives and livelihood, they met violence with violence, and the result is before us today: the war was won by the Fascists.

★

Had the workers been strongly united in resistance by "civil disobedience," rather than by military methods, it might well be that they would not, fourteen years afterwards, be still rotting in Franco's jails, but be instead, as they should be, the rulers of their destiny.

There are others, like Reginald Thompson, whose gorge rises, and whose conscience is stricken at the ghastly horror of sheer human suffering engendered by the modern weapons of war, and they find themselves inevitably turning their backs upon it, but inserting into their refusal to take part in it that small proviso allowing them to protect their own country by "personal weapons."

Life, however, is not static and it is impossible to go backwards; men will not again be able to stand between their homes and the attacker; the defence of the future lies in the wholesale destruction of a country's industries, transport, and its population; it is useless and futile to think of it in any other terms. Whatever the weapons used in the battle the rights and wrongs of the quarrel would still remain unsettled.

The unacceptable truth about war was perhaps easier to evade when civilians were not the target and when hand to hand conflict seemed a fairer method of dispute, but the soldier who invades another country and attacks another soldier upon his own doorstep may well believe that by doing so he is protecting his own doorstep from foreign invasion.

★

It does not alter the fact that war is an evil and immoral gamble, for the result is dependent, not upon justice, but upon military strategy and strength. The side which has high ideals behind its struggle may suffer overwhelming defeat; the side which is victorious may find the fruits of victory mere weapons for a further war.

It is true that it is not the amount of violence which determines good or evil results, but it is not true that because it is supported by a "sense of human values" and by right ideas, violence must thereby be the true answer.

It is useless to deny that violence often achieves a certain objective: guns and threats can, for example, quell a riot, but that is not to say that the riot could not have been quelled by other means, such as the removal of the grievances which caused it, and the method of negotiation.

It needs courage and fortitude and faith of the highest order to turn our backs once and for all on the war method, for that is something which has never been tried. Yet it is rational, moral, fair, and good—instead of immoral, unfair, brutal and evil. It is more than time to try it.

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Mr. Head: ranks of Rhine we or on duty officers are injured.

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